

This study is based upon work supported by the National Research Foundation under Grant number 2067468.

PUBLIC SERVICE AND COMMERCIAL GLOCALISATION FRAMES OF A MEDIA EVENT OF GLOBAL IMPORTANCE

2001 September 11, New York - Seen from Hungary, Budapest

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The terrorist attacks in New York 2001 September 11, were events of global importance. Local televisions, however, interpreted it differently - that is its presentation went through a process resulting in glocalisation. The results of the analysis of the New York terrorist attack's television coverage in Hungary showed, that there were at least four main types of filters or/and framing effects in the "glocalization" process of this event of global importance: the international or/and prestigious national media – first of all, the CNN (following by the BBC); the professional and institutional values and norms of the public service and commercial channels; and the perceived local political contexts. These effects stratified on each other, but it seems that in our case the dominant was the difference in the logic of public service and commercial broadcasting institutions.

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The aim of this article was to present to the readers, how the Hungarian television treated and framed a shocking event of international importance - the terrorist attacks in New York on September 11, 2001. (1)
The terrorist attacks in New York were events of global importance. Local televisions, however, interpreted it differently - that is its presentation went through a process resulting in glocalisation. (2) The writer of the study wanted to show the Hungarian version of this glocalization. But the question was, whether there was a single or main Hungarian version, or there were different versions. It was supposed, that the public service television and the commercial ones used different filters, different paradigms to present and interpret the events in connection with the different social roles of the channels and different criteria of professionalism. It was planned to compare the coverage of the main public service channel and one of the national commercial channels. In the course of analyzing the content of these programs, it became clear that the differences were much bigger than expected. To control the results the writer decided to include the analysis of the second nationwide commercial channel into the research. It was found, that there were two different commercial paradigms of problem handling.

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The main body of this analysis was made two years ago; however the writer of the article thinks, the general results are not obsolete. They illuminate the Hungarian process of glocalization of a media event of international importance and the different logic of the public service and commercial media at recreating the reality. (3)

The differences in the problem handling of the public service and commercial channels in the case of extreme cases

Although our general assumption is that the mass media, and among them television, are media of the present, concentrating on actual events, the changes, the extraordinary happenings, this is only partly true. Television program making is a mass production process, which has its routine, planned character, and a special inertia when meeting really new and unexpected situations. (4) It seems that (at least in Hungary) commercial television is much more embodied into its institutional and economic environment, perhaps because of the intensive competition, and they focus their attention first of all to the advertisers' needs. A decision to make any changes in the program needs the coordination of different people, from the program makers, economic staff and so on. On the other hand, the public service program makers' main task is to inform the audience, the citizens - in harmony with certain specific political circumstances. The economic consequences of the program change in an extraordinary situation for them were not so important. (5) That is why the afternoon of September 11 the Hungarian public service channel on a naturally way disregarded the published program, and answering the supposed needs of the extraordinary situation, almost during all of his broadcasting time offered a continuous information program, mainly based on information and pictures from CNN, but with the simultaneous use of other foreign channels, and a Hungarian translation and interpretation. They paid less attention to the so-called professional normalization but more to the content side of their presentation.

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The commercial television stations insisted more on their routine program structure, with a little larger and richer information programs. It seemed that they tried to incorporate and to harmonize this regrettable event into their profit making policy. (6) The result was that between two washing powder advertisements they advertised their next information program promising new information about the terror attacks, the number of victims and so on. The form of expression their sympathy and loyalty to the victims was that they canceled their loudest and most popular entertaining programs in addition to action or terror films which could be connected to the tragic New York events. They emphasized their "economic sacrifices" (that was intended to express their empathy and loyalty to the victims), and at the same time accused their competitors of exploiting economically the situation.

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The three Hungarian television channels analyzed here demonstrated three different approaches to the New York terrorist attacks. Maybe with slight exaggeration, they could be characterized briefly as follows:

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1. The Hungarian public service channel, the M1 interpreted it mainly as a horrible event of international, global importance, which can seriously affect the total international order, rearrange the relations of the main players. It can be said that it was mainly an official, institutional, political and cognitive approach, with a purpose of public deliberation.

2. The TV2, one of the two nationwide commercial channels emphasized the human side of the events seen from the point of view of everyday people, so it paid much more attention to the innocent, suffering or dying victims, who were the father, the brother, or the friend of somebody, whose life dramatically changed - for a day or forever because of the terrorists. At the same time they highly evaluated and emphasized the heroism of the rescue people, the firefighters, the policemen, the medics, those who helped their fellowmen. So their approach was more an emotional one, the "history from a bottom view". They see their audience as human beings, who are sympathetic to human tragedy, interested in human things, human relations.

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3. The motto of the Hungarian RTL Club could be the sentence they repeated continuously (almost going into ecstasy): "The reality surpassed the writers' fantasy, the Hollywood films". This television channels emphasized the extraordinary, the particular, the sensationalist, the spectacular character of the event. In a certain way it was a strange esthetic approach, searching for similar horrible pictures, images, when life produces more exiting situations than the most famous film scenarios. They counted on an audience that prefers the spectacle and excitement in television viewing, such as in movies.

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How the three paradigms were realized in the program making?

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1. The program editing methods of presentation of the terrorist attack:

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The Hungarian M1 public service channel disregarded the published program, and after a short hesitation (resulting in a short delay in the first information) they offered all the day of the event a continuous program devoted totally to the terror attack. The channel's two leading journalists, who speak English, were the hosts - one of them followed CNN's program, and the Reuters' and BBC News programs, hoping to catch the latest information bits of news value for the Hungarian audience. They invited different experts to discuss the problems, what gave to the whole undertaking a serious, responsible character. The organization of the program was informal, (that emphasized the striking and shocking feature of the event) flexible, and open-ended like the events in real life, a little excited, sometimes chaotic. The information coming from different sources was not specially edited or ordered, sometimes there was a big push, overflow of redundant or contradicting information, which the journalists tried only to transmit, mediate, not to interpret. The informality and some times helplessness of the journalists gave an impression to the audience, that indeed something out of the ordinary had happened, when the public and private characteristics of the professionals were mixed. Their dismay and

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involvement supported their authenticity although one could say; they made some mistakes according to the formal professional norms.

The TV2 national commercial television however, was first among the Hungarian television stations to give a detailed report of the terrorist attacks on the WTC at 16.10 (local time). Its shocking effect was diminished by the fact that before and after the report the audience received the usual everyday advertisements package. The channel's normal schedule was kept, but the audience could follow the newest shocking information on the rolling news line at the bottom of the screen shown, during the usual programs – as for example soap operas. Psychologically this was a catch - like the health warning on the cigarette-case. In the case of the evening action film (Dead men can't dance) - which was showed without any change, two different kinds of tension were added. Finally at 23.07, after the prime time programs, this television offered a good, profound and multifaceted, interview series with different specialists for those who didn't sleep yet.

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The other national commercial channel, the RTL Club's directors declared that they couldn't allow themselves to deviate from the formal professional norms, like the journalists of the public service television. They referred to their obligations to the advertisers and the audience. (7) Certainly this is why their journalists kept a certain distance from the events; they incorporated the information into the everyday normal program flow of the channel and remained between the boundaries of their usual television genres. When they surpassed these boundaries, the result was ambiguous: this happened, when they mixed into one (news!) program fiction, archival form of nonfiction and fresh factual information, to illustrate their slogan: "The reality surpassed the writers' fantasy, the Hollywood films".

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2. What the Hungarian television channels took over from CNN?

Both the public service and the commercial televisions depended strongly on CNN information and images, although one of the Hungarian nationwide commercial channels, RTL Club, had more diverse sources due to the connection to the international RTL group. The CNN offered different frames at the presentation of the events – certainly because of the complexity and uncertainty of the situation. There were of course some preferred frames, presumably in harmony with the US political stands and public feelings. (8) Using CNN information, the different television stations created different realities for their audiences, based on their supposed information needs. The offer of the visual images was limited and repetitive - it cannot be said whether or not the different televisions missed something or they didn't show something from the CNN's selection. (Particularly because many times one couldn't know, only suppose, where the information came from.) But the local televisions could change the overall impression as well - with the different repetition practice of the different frames, with the type and character of added information, and with the different interpretation of the broadcasted images. So the televisions rearranged the information according to their self-image and the supposed information needs of the audience. (9.)

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What did the public service journalists consider important to present to their audience? Beyond the most common images of the tragic events, which were taken over by most of the television stations all over the world, they almost hunted for official speeches and declaration of loyalty, condemnation and condolence of the leaders of the different national or international organizations. These served as measurement of the international political importance of the events. Public service broadcasting has close ties to the political institutional system and therefore, the political evaluation of the events was considered important - the declarations of Bush, Arafat, Wesley, Putin, Holbrook, Robertson, Powel, Shultz, Hughes, Perez and so on.

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The TV2 commercial television station considered it important to transmits those images, moving pictures, which showed the events from the point of view of the everyday, average people exposed to the fate - New Yorkers working at the WTC, escaping, running out from the collapsing building, jumping out from the window, waving desperately from a window on the seventy-something floor. They took over and broadcasted many times pictures of escaping, exhausted, fearful eye-witnesses, the brave rescue people, they showed the husband, who found the last message of his wife on his answering machine full of fear and emotions, the mass of people desperately searching for their disappeared relatives.

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The RTL Club, the other commercial channel considered as a sign of professionalism the well edited packages of information compiled from different sources - from CNN, their own archives and other resources, and transformed them into pretty, round story form. A few hard facts, a little emotion, some spectacular scene or event - taken from the reality offered by CNN, from a Hollywood film, from the former terror attack against the WTC. A program, what you can enjoy, be threatened by, shocked by, - infotainment. The channel directed its audience to the television station's website should a viewer wish, more detailed and fresh information.

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Both commercial channels employed simultaneous interpreters to follow CNN's programming. However in the case they were asked about the new information, they were embarrassed: they could not judge the news value of the information although they understood perfectly its wording.

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3. Experts and eyewitnesses in the case of a distant event of international importance

The selected presentation of CNN's information and images was one of the – although very important – means of adaptation, globalization of the programs. Beyond the local interpretation of the CNN information, the program editors used other information sources as well. It can be distinguished two main types among them: the experts, i.e. professionals involved in a certain way in a given problem, and the eyewitnesses. There was a real shortage of such additional information sources in Hungary. With regard to the experts it soon became clear that Hungary does not have well prepared experts in the field of international terrorism. With regard to the eyewitnesses, the plus they could offer would be their personal and emotional involvement in the events, their illusory authenticity. It seemed very hard to find appropriate eyewitnesses in the case of a very unexpected and distant event – and especially Hungarians (really authentic) for the Hungarian audience. When somebody found, he/she was not better informed than those several thousand kilometers away watching the CNN. Often they used and referred to the same information resource as their audience: CNN.

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Both the experts and eyewitnesses were used by both the public service television and the commercial stations as well, but the public service television relied more on professionals and prestigious experts, while the commercial televisions preferred the eyewitnesses, whose reports were easy to understand for the mass audience. At the same time the experts used by the commercial televisions were different from those used at the public service television. For example they were much less interested in the opinion of political experts and the preferred young (good looking) unknown "genius" to established professionals. In addition they were given different questions, and when possible, the spectacular form was preferred by the commercial channels.

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The first day afternoon and evening the Hungarian public service station M1 invited the following experts to its round table; first of all an expert on terrorism, who was later joined by an expert on Islam politics and culture, and later by an expert on American culture and politics. This well balanced triangle determined the problem handling and the interpretation of CNN's information. This circle from time to time was supplemented by various other experts, for example by a security expert and a stock-market expert. The three aforementioned experts remained stable cornerstones of the interpretation, and set the level for the further discussions.

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The commercial TV2 had the benefit of having had one of its journalists on the ground in New York where she happened to have been reporting, and she was ready to report directly. Her information, however, was no more exact than that of other eyewitnesses because of the lack of relevant general information. The reporter could not offer more or other information than CNN or somebody from the street.

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One of RTL-Club's main guests was not an eyewitness at all, but the son of an eyewitness, who was called up from the studio, and he could say that his father had left in time the WTC, and everything was OK. The audience could feel direct symbolical contact to the event, and could relief. This television invited experts as well – a prestigious foreign policy expert – however in his interpretation the whole thing seemed to be like an interesting and exiting detective story or action film – concentrating on the issues, who could organize and finance the attack, and how, which countries could be involved in the issue, where the CIA and FBI had been, how could Osama Bin Laden plan such a shocking event, and why, and what can be the consequences. The late evening program's experts were from the fields of foreign policy, security policy, the military, the police, the airforce, and the (Hungarian) founder of the WTC.

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The other commercial channel, the TV2 gave first detailed information about the suicide terrorist attacks on the WTC in their early evening information program. Beyond CNN's information, an expert on the Near East problems was invited to speak of OBL, an international security expert stressing the responsibility of the FBI and CIA, a journalist speaking of the history of the building of the WTC, a stock-market expert, an eyewitness interviewed via telephone, and relatives of those were staying in New York. From time to time the interpreter summarized the latest CNN information, without moving pictures.

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The local political context of the terrorist attack's coverage

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In analyzing the Hungarian television representation of September 11 two events should be mentioned, which colored the interpretation of the tragic events in New York: first, that on that day, the meeting of the NATO representatives was due to take place in Budapest, second, that the prime minister was not in Hungary, but in Berlin, taking part at the opening ceremony of the new building of the Hungarian Embassy. The NATO meeting ended with the opening ceremony, all the leaders immediately returned home.

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For the prime minister as well the opening ceremony of the new embassy meant the end of his visit. He reacted immediately to the events from Berlin yet, expressing his loyalty to the US and NATO, and reassuring the Hungarian people that although the events would not have direct effect on the country, he would return immediately.

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The Hungarian political life was (and is) very vivid and excited, and colonized the other sphere of the social life, with special emphases on the media. (There are experts who describe the situation that a sharp polarization of the society is taking place.) The political parties used and continue to use every possibility to obtain a public forum, to represent their ideas and opinions, and to fight for public support and against each other. The so called public service media was a ready partner in the realization of these ambitions - with the determined bias toward the right wing parties in government of that time. At the same time the commercial media usually slightly tended to a bias toward the parties in opposition.

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The Hungarian televisions gave space for the political elite's manifestations on the occasion of the tragic events. The result depended on the usual standing points of the television, their interpretation of the appropriate behavior and the political communication competence of the members of the political elite. This time however the pure fact of being interviewed, being present on the screen, showing their importance and responsibility was important for the different political players, as far as they agreed in evaluating the event. The only exception was the leader of the extreme right, nationalist party (MIÉP), who expressed the opinion that the American received that they deserved. The local political reactions to the terrorist attack gave new possibilities to develop a new line of the public discourse.

Parallel with the representatives of the political elite, the leaders or spokesmen of the security bodies, the police, the military leaders, and the spokeswomen of the Hungarian airline company informed the public of possible ensuing problems. They reassured the public that no problems were foreseen but that they would be at their place in the event of problems occurring. The event gave a possibility to those in power to demonstrate their capabilities at maintaining the social order and security, and lifted into the public sphere and made stronger the legitimacy of such institutions which are rarely in the center of the public attention in a normally functioning democracy – for example those of secret service and catastrophe prevention. The prime minister in his interviews carefully balanced between assuring the public of maintaining the order and security, and emphasizing the necessity of unity in possible hard times – morally limiting the critical activity of the political opposition.

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Both the public service and the commercial televisions used similar methods at presentation the interviews with the political representatives. The commercial television stations, however, were more interested in the pragmatic aspects of the regrettable events, that is, how they could affect the everyday life of the everyday people. Two questions raised special interest and gave possibility for different interpretation: what could mean for Hungary - being a new NATO member - the famous 5th paragraph, whether this could mean Hungarian soldiers would soon be sent into war for US interests? And what would the Delta level standby of the American troops abroad mean, especially for Hungary? These two problems of new kind for the Hungarian were suitable for raising panic, and the commercial televisions tried to make sensational news from them, as the printed press later alleged.

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Summary

The results of the analysis of the New York terrorist attack's television coverage in Hungary showed, that there were at least four main types of filters or/and framing effects at the globalization process of this event of global importance: the international or/and prestigious national media – first of all, the CNN following by the BBC; the professional and institutional values and norms of the public service and commercial channels; and the perceived local political contexts. These effects stratified on each other, but it seems that in our case the dominant was the difference in the logics of public service and commercial broadcasting institutions. This fact is partly understandable in the Hungarian case, in the first period of the development of commercial television, and in the circumstances of sharp media competition.

The question, which television channel fulfilled its social function of public deliberation better in this extreme situation, cannot be answered unambiguously. Certainly this was not the RTL Club with its exaggerated and sterile "professionalism". The public service channel can be convicted as well because it followed too close the supposed official political line, and time-to-time was confused in the overload or lack of information. The TV2 offered an alternative "more civil" perspective to the shocking events, which could awake empathy and sympathy in its audience, but hardly helped in forming an informed opinion about the international political importance of the terror attacks.

Notes

1. For one of the recent and comprehensive overview of the frame analysis see the study of Schufele (2004.)
2. For one of the first definitions of globalisation see the study of: Robertson (1994).

3. I say, Hungarian television, but I mean only one of the state public service channel, and the two nationwide commercial stations. The television coverage of the terrorist attack was analyzed entirely on the 11th of September, but the 12th and the 13th of September were also included into the research. The method of analysis was a qualitative one, based on a careful, repetitive, systematic and comparative viewing of the different channels' program flow, with special emphases to the similarities and differences. The aim of the research was to discover the logic and frames of presentations.
4. About the different types of news see an overview of McQuail: Media culture production. In McQuail (1994.)
5. The relative "insensibility" of the public service broadcast institutions to the economic dimension of their activity in general are considered as a negative feature in a competitive environment, disregarding their original social missions.
6. See more details about the reaction of the Hungarian news editors in the study of a Hungarian journalist. Katona, É. (2001)
7. As explained the News' Director of the RTL Club to É. Katona. See Note no. 6.
8. The CNN's program was not examined systematically by the writer. About the frames of the US media see for example the study of Hayden. (2003)
9. The next table illustrates the extraordinary information needs of the Hungarian audience and its relationship to the offered television programs in connection to the WTC terrorist attack, 2000 September 11-17 - 2001 September 10-16.

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(Total population 4+)

Program types	2000		2001	
	Daily viewing	person/ minutes	Daily program	time in minutes
Non music fict.	47	44	657	680
Non music entr.	18	14	204	129
Music	4	1	71	57
Sport	8	2	232	164
News	13	36	293	626
Information	6	3	165	106
Art, sci, cult.	3	1	307	226
Ads	15	13	201	176
Total	115	118	2130	2164

AGB Hungary's data

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